

Message Text

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TO USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

S E C R E T STATE 007807

EXDIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 007807 ACTION BONN BRUSSELS COPENHAGEN

LONDON OSLO MADRID PARIS ROME LISBON 13 JAN REPEATED VIENNA

STOCKHOLM THE HAGUE VALLETTA 14 JAN

QUOTE

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EXDIS

E.O. 11652:GDS

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TAGS: PFOR, IT

SUBJECT: MEETING OF EUROPEAN SOCIALISTS IN DENMARK --
JANUARY 18-19.1976

1. AT THE INVITATION OF THE DANISH SOCIAL DEMOCRATS, THE HEADS OF ALL NON-COMMUNIST EUROPEAN SOCIALIST PARTIES WILL MEET AT HELSINGOR JANUARY 18-19. IT IS REPORTEDLY AN INITIATIVE OF BRANDT AND PALME AND WILL REPLACE THE NOW-CANCELLED MEETING OF THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL. PURPOSE OF THIS MESSAGE IS TO FLAG IMPORTANCE OF THIS MEETING FOR US FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES IN WESTERN AND SOUTHERN EUROPE. IT IS FOR BACKGROUND USE ONLY.

2. WE HAVE BEEN TOLD THAT HELSINGOR DISCUSSIONS WILL INCLUDE WAYS TO STRENGTHEN DEMOCRATIC FORCES IN NON-COMMUNIST EUROPE THROUGH SOCIALIST COOPERATION WITH OTHER POLITICAL FORCES ON LEFT OR RIGHT. EITHER IN THIS BROAD CONTEXT OR SEPARATELY, ITALIAN SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE INTERNAL SITUATIONS WILL BE EXAMINED.

3. MEETING TAKES PLACE AT A TIME WHEN COMMUNIST PARTIES OF WESTERN EUROPE, LED BY ITALY, ARE INCREASINGLY ADAPTING THEMSELVES TO THEIR ADVANCED, CAPITALISTIC SOCIETIES AND BECOMING PROPONENTS OF A MORE PROFITABLE DOCTRINE THAT OSTENSIBLY ACCEPTS POLITICAL PLURALISM, MIXED ECONOMIES, ETC. FROM THIS NEW IDEOLOGICAL PLATFORM, WESTERN COMMUNIST PARTIES, AGAIN LED BY PCI'S CALL FOR AN "HISTORIC COMPROMISE" BY THE ITALIAN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS, HAVE ALSO BECOME ADVOCATES OF ALLIANCES WITH NON-COMMUNIST GROUPS AND PARTIES. THE IDEOLOGICAL BACKPEDDLING AND THE TACTICAL SHIFT BY THE COMMUNISTS TO "UNITY OF ALL DEMOCRATIC FORCES", ETC., ARE IMPLICIT ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS OF A WEAKNESS THEY INTEND TO BE BRIEF, BUT THE INTEREST THEY HAVE ELICITED AMONG SOME WESTERN EUROPEANS SHOWS AN UNAWARENESS OF OR DISINTEREST IN THIS FACT. THE RESULT OF THE COMMUNIST CHARGES AND THE INTERESTED RESPONSE TO THEM BY SOME EUROPEANS IS AN IMPRESSION THAT WESTERN EUROPE
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HAS SPAWNED A NEW, SOFTER, BRAND OF COMMUNISM SCARCELY DISTINGUISHABLE IN ITS ADVERTISED FORM FROM CLASSIC SOCIAL DEMOCRACY. THUS, HELSINGOR DISCUSSION OF SOCIALIST ATTITUDES TOWARD COMMUNIST PARTIES WILL FIND SOME PARTICIPANTS, PROBABLY A MINORITY, ARGUING STRONGLY FOR COOPERATION WITH THEM.

4. IN ITALY, THE SOCIALISTS ARE PULLED TOWARD THE PCI BY

AN IMPRESSION OF ITS STRENGTH, DYNAMISM AND POSSIBLE SUCCESS AND ARE PUSHED TOWARD IT BY CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC WEAKNESSES. FOR SHORT-TERM TACTICAL REASONS THEY HAVE BROUGHT DOWN THE MORO GOVERNMENT BUT ARE DEEPLY DIVIDED OVER WHAT TO DO NEXT. IN SPAIN, THE PCE'S SOFT LINE CAUSES SPANISH (AND OTHER) SOCIALISTS TO ARGUE THAT DEMOCRACY CAN ONLY BE SHOWN BY THE LEGALIZATION OF SPANISH COMMUNISTS. IN PORTUGAL, SOARES MAINTAINS AN INTELLECTUAL OPENNESS TO COOPERATION WITH A COMMUNIST PARTY WHOSE "LEFT UNITY" THEME TODAY RESULTS FROM ITS FAILURE TO INSTALL ITSELF BY FORCE IN NOVEMBER. IN GERMANY, BRANDT APPARENTLY SEES VIA SOCIALIST CO-OPTION OF THE WESTERN EUROPEAN COMMUNISTS THE DEVELOPMENT OF A "THIRD FORCE" COMMUNISM THAT WOULD BE A BULWARK TO SOVIET EXPANSION.

5. NEITHER THE US NOR WESTERN EUROPE HAS ANYTHING TO GAIN BY SUCCUMBING TO THE ILLUSION THAT THE NEW FORM OF COMMUNISM DEVELOPING THERE IS EITHER INNOCENT OR ACCEPTABLE. PLURALISTIC PROTESTATIONS ASIDE, THERE IS FUNDAMENTAL DOUBT THAT A COMMUNIST PARTY PROFESSING ITSELF TO BE SUCH WOULD WILLINGLY RELINQUISH POWER ONCE ATTAINED OR THAT A "DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT", NOW BEING MUTED AS AN IDEOLOGICAL THEME, WOULD BE ABANDONED AS A GOAL. THERE IS ALSO A QUESTION OF WHETHER MODERATE LEADERSHIP NECESSARILY MEANS MODERATE RANK AND FILE. EVEN IF POSITIVE ANSWERS WERE GIVEN TO THESE QUESTIONS, IT WOULD REMAIN THAT THE ACCESSION TO POWER BY WESTERN

EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES WOULD ULTIMATELY AND INEVITABLY DESTROY THE RELATIONSHIP NOW EXISTING BETWEEN THE US AND WESTERN EUROPE. NATO, LOSING THE SUPPORT OF AMERICAN OPINION AND SUFFERING, AT THE VERY LEAST, FROM A REORDERING OF DEMOCRATIC PRIORITIES AWAY FROM DEFENSE, WOULD BE AN
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EARLY VICTIM TO THIS PROCESS; THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY WOULD BE USED TO PROPAGATE AND INSTITUTIONALIZE THE POLICIES OF THE LEFT-WING GOVERNMENTS; AND THE FABRIC OF COMMON INTERESTS AND TRADITIONS WHICH TODAY RECONCILE COMMERCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DIFFERENCES WOULD BE DISSOLVED. IF A COMPETITIVE "THIRD FORCE" BRAND OF COMMUNISM FOR ADVANCED SOCIETIES WERE TO DEVELOP, THE TEMPTATION TO SOVIET MEDDLING IN WESTERN EUROPE, OR TO REPRESSION IN THE EAST, COULD HAVE UNPREDICTABLE RESULTS. AND, IN ANY CASE, EITHER FOR REASONS OF IDEOLOGICAL AFFINITY OR MILITARY INFERIORITY, WESTERN EUROPE WOULD BE VULNERABLE TO SOVIET PRESSURES. SOCIALIST PARTIES THEMSELVES WOULD SOON GO OUT OF EXISTENCE.

6. THESE ARE THE REASONS THE US OPPOSES THE POLITICAL LEGITIMIZATION OF WESTERN EUROPEAN COMMUNISM THROUGH ALLIANCES, FRONTS AND PRAGMATIC COOPERATION WITH SOCIALIST OR OTHER DEMOCRATIC PARTIES, ALL OF WHICH AMOUNT TO THE STRENGTH OF THE LATTER YIELDING TO THE WEAKNESS OF THE FORMER. THERE IS NOTHING INELUCTABLE ABOUT THE ADVANCE TO POWER OF COMMUNISM IN WESTERN EUROPE OR ELSEWHERE. WHETHER IT SUCCEEDS IN DOING SO WILL DEPEND ON THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES SHOWING THE NECESSARY WILL TO DEFEND THEMSELVES AND THE STRUCTURES WHICH HAVE BEEN SO PAINSTAKINGLY DEVELOPED AND DEFENDED IN EUROPE DURING THIS CENTURY. WE BELIEVE THE MAJORITY OF THE HELSINGOR PARTICIPANTS WILL SHARE THESE VIEWS, BUT WE ANTICIPATE STRONG AND VOCAL MINORITY SUPPORT FOR THE IDEA OF EXPANDED COOPERATION WITH THE COMMUNISTS.

7. OUR POLICY OBJECTIVE AT HELSINGOR IS THEREFORE A CLEAR LINE OF OPPOSITION TO SOCIALIST COOPERATION WITH WESTERN EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES, EITHER AS A GENERAL THESIS OR IN THE SPECIFIC CONTEXT OF ITALY, SPAIN OR PORTUGAL. AT THE VERY LEAST, WE WANT NO SANCTION BY THE MEETING OF SUCH COOPERATION. WITH REGARD TO THE SPECIFIC SITUATIONS, WE BELIEVE THE ITALIAN SOCIALISTS SHOULD RETURN TO A POLICY OF COOPERATION WITH THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS AND THAT THE LATTER SHOULD GIVE THEM REASON TO DO SO; THAT SPAIN SHOULD BE PERMITTED TO EVOLVE ALONG ITS OWN DEMO-
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CRATIC WAY WITHOUT EXTERNAL PRESSURES TOWARD EXCESSIVE SPEED OR AN ACCOMMODATION OF SPANISH COMMUNIST AMBITIONS; AND THAT THE FAVORABLE TREND IN PORTUGAL IS NO ARGUMENT

FOR MAINTAINING A FAVORED POSITION IN THE GOVERNMENT OR IN THE SYSTEM FOR THAT PARTY MOST COMMITTED TO THE DESTRUCTION OF BOTH.

8. POSTS SHOULD TAKE NO ACTION ON THE BASIS OF THIS TELEGRAM BUT SHOULD DRAW ON IT FOR GUIDANCE AS THE SUBJECT IS RAISED BY OTHERS. SPECIFIC INSTRUCTIONS AND ADDITIONAL BACKGROUND MATERIAL WILL BE SENT BY SEPTEL TO SELECTED POSTS WHERE SPECIAL APPROACHES ARE DESIRED. KISSINGER
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